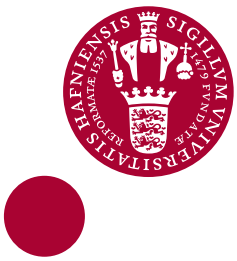

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A Taste for French Style in Bourbon Spain: Food, Drink and Clothing in 1740s Madrid

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The eighteenth century saw the culmination of a process of consolidation for commercial networks between continents and cultures, East and West being connected in Europe by semi-luxurious and luxury goods.[1] However, we must remember that each country and region had complex socio-economic and cultural networks that were interconnected yet distinctive. As Ina Baghdiantz McCabe noted, 'each society, even every city, has its own history'.[2] The patterns of consumption in Madrid were therefore not necessarily the same as those found in the rest of Spain. Nevertheless, cities were nodes of encounter, the best places to show off – to see and be seen – and they represent an ideal scene to study the consequences of the circulation of goods and people. In the eighteenth century, Madrid was a major capital marked by enormous differences between social groups that competed for political power and position, not only in the city but also in the colonies, where dress and appearance were important cultural codes. These characteristics made the city a place of eager exchange of new products and fashions. In this sense, it was open to the world and modern in its consumption patterns. It should not be forgotten that Madrid was an imperial capital and, as with other such capitals, consuming while producing very little meant that it played a limited role in terms of redistribution.[3]

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This chapter attempts to offer a picture of how taste and luxury channelled urban consumption in Madrid in the 1740s, focusing on a segment of society with high average income that lived in the capital and was in contact with the court and with new trends. Taste was shaped by individual choices, availability and popularity. This particular case study reveals the importance of demand for French products with regard to their exclusivity and quality – France had, of course, attained an international renown with an image linked to elegance, luxury and style that all Europe wanted to imitate (see also the chapters by Clemente, North and Ilmakunnas).[4] It also offers a window on the ways in which taste for French products and fashionable goods interfered in luxury networks throughout eighteenth-century Spain.

Although French products always had a significant presence in the Castilian market,[5] war and the arrival of Philip V, Duc d'Anjou, and the grandson of Louis XIV – who first married Marie Louise of Savoy (1701–1714) and then Elizabeth Farnese (1714–1746) – had an important influence on material culture and social practices in Madrid.[6] Influenced by his grandfather, Philip changed the relationship between the court and the state, as the French Bourbons did, to ensure greater influence of the administration of the state.[7] A new elite emerged that was linked more to the administration of the state than to the traditional relations of the old aristocracy. This new wealthy group was associated with establishing a peerage for services, especially during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), and with the sale of noble titles related to the financial needs of the monarchy.[8] These political adjustments, which provoked widespread opposition among the long-established elite, were accompanied by changes in ceremony and were an attempt to reform the court with a significant impact on taste and luxury.[9] Courtesy and etiquette, viewed as a socio-economic and political system, began to change in the eighteenth century.[10] On a European scale, kings popularized and even mandated major fashion trends among the elite.[11] Cantillón alludes to this trickle-down effect when he noted that the prince 'who is copied by his court, normally determines the inspiration and tastes of the other landlords in general'.[12] With a French king in Spain, French goods were associated with luxury and status, and determined the style of the court, as Clemente demonstrates for Naples in this volume. If we consider goods to be an information system, gifts (e.g., paintings and sculptures, bibelots, ceramics from Sèvres, Gobelins tapestries,

and jewellery) fuelled an incessant trade in information between France and Spain; they were ruled by the same dynasty and linked by new commodities in the market.[13] French commodities acquired a 'court status', linked to good taste which makes attempts to distinguish between taste and luxury a challenging task, especially when Louis XIV's court *à la mode* reached its peak.

Taxes, imports and luxury

The document used as a source for this chapter is a tax called the *décima* (the tenth) which was levied to finance the War of Jenkins' Ear against England and would disappear once the specified amount was fully collected.[14] In theory, the *décima* had to be collected as a direct tax on the income of every subject of the Crown except for persons with special immunity such as clergy (but not nobility) and according to their assets. In reality, it was collected in different ways, according to the characteristics and agreements reached in each place. In some towns, the collection was based on direct taxes, but, probably because of the incapacity of the administration or the resistance of privileged groups, it was often levied as an indirect tax and collected by a top-down quota system in various different ways.[15]

In Madrid, the collection of this tax was assigned to the Big Five Guilds of the city because they were the ones that advanced the King the amount estimated to be collected in the town. In exchange, the Big Five Guilds charged town customs duties to everyone who brought goods for their own consumption through the city's gates.[16] The advantage of this when using the tax records as a source lies in the fact that it reflects a specific levy that was applied solely and exclusively to a series of products for personal consumption. The tax did not affect basic goods such as bread, but others of a wider scope. Some of the products were 'everyday goods' (olive oil, wine, pork fat, etc.), others might be characterized as 'luxuries' or even 'positional goods' (textiles, jewellery, exotic tapestry) and, in between, 'semi-luxury goods', a category that would include products such as sugar or cocoa since they might have transformed from luxury to common goods during these years, particularly in urban environments. We therefore have a snapshot of the shopping basket of durable and semi-durable goods, colonial products and groceries consumed by the

wealthy classes. What makes this tax particularly interesting is the fact that it effectively shows the intention to tax the upper or middle classes, which were previously free of other indirect taxes. Moreover, it has an advantage over probate inventories in that it records a wider range of goods and gives us a dynamic rather than a static picture.

We present here analysis of the tax records for the period 1741–1743. With the aim of analysing the structure of demand, we have first classified the 450 products listed into eight major groups, which in turn are divided into subgroups.[17] The items recorded most frequently were *clothes and articles for personal use* (50.7 per cent), followed by *luxury food* (37.3 per cent) and *household goods* (9.6 per cent); other categories being of minor importance. When it was possible to standardize measures, such as with spices or certain textiles, we were able to establish per capita consumption by gender and social class. We have assigned 3,819 people into seven categories or social classes based on the information provided in the document: Crown, Ecclesiastic, Charitable Foundation, Ambassador, Nobility (7 per cent), Upper Middle Class (73.7 per cent), and Lower Middle Class (17.8 per cent).[18]

When looking at gender, we see that men managed both income and purchases (90.4 per cent of goods were introduced by men) and that they bought articles for both men and women. However, women introduced products that were focused more on personal and domestic use, such as fabrics, bedclothes, table and kitchen linens, underwear, footwear, dresses and decorative articles, as well as certain domestic objects such as braziers and spices. Women appear to demonstrate a certain preference for this type of shopping because they are the ones who spend more time at home and are, therefore, the ones who are responsible for domestic spaces.[19]

French commodities in Madrid: clothing textiles

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Madrid, as an imperial capital, was a distinctive consumer of new goods coming from the East and West.[20] With a French king at the Spanish court luxury was inevitably represented by 'French taste, food and design' as it was already happening amongst elite circles of all Europe.[21]

In our source, we know the origin of 20 per cent (1,440 of 7,477) of all the goods, of which almost 13 per cent came from France. This percentage is certainly higher because many products, especially fabrics, cloth, gloves, gold and silver lace, silk and thread, were made in France. However, we have considered only those entries where the origin was specified (75.8 per cent Spain, 13 per cent France, 4.7 per cent China, 2.4 per cent Holland and 1.9 per cent for Cuba, Germany, Venezuela, Indies, Italy, Portugal and Flanders combined). French products came primarily via three routes: the north, particularly through the port of Bilbao that served as a warehouse for all of Castile up to Madrid; the south, through Cadiz; and the east, through the ports of Barcelona, Alicante and Malaga.[22] In the Mediterranean, merchants from Marseille sent cloth from Carcassonne, Toulouse, Lyon to Cadiz and Cartagena and Languedoc, in addition to American and Asian products.[23] Where did most of the demand for French items come from? Only 4 per cent of French products were introduced by women; per capita the nobility purchased the most items, followed by the middle upper class and lower middle class (see Table 11.1).

Moral and ethical values had always been associated with appearance and the consumption of luxury, especially after the religious Reformation in the seventeenth century, so clothing was important in signalling status and character.[24] Sempere and Guarinos related laziness and relaxed attitudes to a certain type of clothing, and sumptuary laws sought to regulate it.[25] Trade, religion, culture and economic politics influenced taste and determined the

Table 11.1 Table of demand for French products by social class, 1741–1743

Type of Product	Mid-Lower Class	Mid-Upper Class	Ambassador	Nobility
Colonial Stimulants		1		
Confectionary		5		1
Sugar		6		2
Bedclothes		8		1
Table and Kitchen linen	3	10		3
Underclothes	1	6		
Fabrics	20	106	1	11
Leather and Fur	1	1		

Source: AGS, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 1862.

gradual adoption or abandonment of certain habits or styles. In this sense, Madrid combined two facets that were decisive for fashion-makers: it was both a metropolis and home to a royal court.[26] The court emphasized the setting of 'Paris fashion' in Europe;[27] indeed, Charles II ordered the court to wear 'a la francesa',[28] but this only took place with a clear passive resistance on behalf of the Spanish population, which favoured the 'traje de golilla',[29] black suit, 'jubón', breeches and petticoat and 'brial' in the case of women. In an apparently less domineering way, Philip V sought to standardize French fashion, and in 1707, French dress was common: frock coat, waistcoat and breeches, wigs, high-heeled shoes and big buttons.[30]

It is important to note that, throughout the eighteenth century, many products played a central role as social markers, especially in urban populations. To adopt or not the new fashion was connected to the dichotomy of Spanish-tradition-plain/French-novelty-colourful.[31] It addresses two relevant matters. On the one hand, clothing expressed political aspirations and can be seen as a weapon and as a symbol of transgression, exemplified by the words of Roche 'in the battle of appearance'.[32] Until the eighteenth century, the power of clothing as a code had been allowed to distinguish social classes, but also to demonstrate good taste to others.[33] For example, wearing a military uniform was a way to follow a style that Louis XIV brought into fashion.[34] Furthermore, emulation by wearing luxurious clothes could disguise and disturb social origin since one of the large issues in the *ancien régime* was appearance and status.[35] The need to be distinguished by social class was one of the reasons behind the Pragmatics of 1723, which specified the dress code for each trade.[36]

On the other hand, critics of the French trend focused on the amount of fabric that this fashion entailed, as this inevitably meant greater expense in textiles taking into account that more than a dozen suits were desirable in order to maintain a public impression of prosperity and well-being.[37] French dress, as a dress uniform, was denoted by fabric type and colour.[38] French taste could be seen as conspicuous consumption since a showy and not easily affordable mode had significant economic connotations. Considering that an appreciable amount of expensive fabrics were imports, there were also implications for the balance of trade. Add to this the extra costs faced by individual consumers and one can readily appreciate both the criticism of this

type of dress and the project to introduce a national dress. As the chapters by Clemente, North and Stobart make clear, the criticism of 'Frenchism' can also be seen elsewhere in Europe, especially England.[39] In the rise of social and economic British patriotism, French dress proved to be valuable cultural propaganda.

Textiles seem to have been closely connected to demand factors (Figure 11.1), such as income availability (collection of wine and grain income) or even religious holidays (Christmas and Easter). As Giorgio Riello has pointed out, textiles 'can assume as wide a range of meaning as the uses for which they are employed'.[40] It is difficult to estimate the percentage of textiles used for clothing or furnishing in the 'fabric' section of our source. What is recorded is the amount of the fabrics introduced, not its final use. But we do know the nature of the textiles. The majority of those from France (measured in metres) were linens, with market seasonality in two months: March and especially October, coinciding with the collection of land rents and change of season. Savary noted that there was a very specific market in the capital because all woollens and linens that were sent through Bilbao to Madrid should be 25 per cent 'coarser and better' than those sent to Cadiz, Andalusia and the Indies, not only because the court was located in Madrid but also because the continental climate meant cold winters and thicker clothes. French ships were sent to Bilbao in August–September to distribute goods to the interior of Castile for the autumn

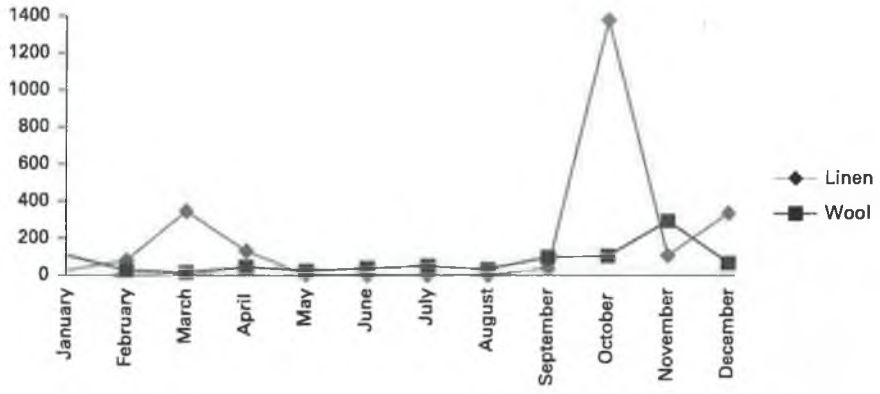

Figure 11.1 French fabrics, linen and wool, introduced in Madrid (1741–1743) in metres by months.

AGS, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 1862.

and winter.[41] However, it is important to note that linen is a product that had constant demand because items such as bedclothes, underwear and tableware were made from it and were usually bought and used throughout the year. The common view was that linen was associated with cleanliness, making linen ideal for domestic use.[42] Among the 2,646.47 metres of French linen fabrics, those that stand out come from Morlaix, Rouen and Troyes, the last being renowned for the variety and quantity of its linen and mixed hemp-linen products. When analysing by social class, half of all linen (1,376 metres) was bought by the nobility, who especially favoured linen from Rouen, reputed for its fine cloths. The upper middle class and lower middle class focused less on one type of linen, and introduced a great variety of fabrics and a fuller range of prices and qualities (see Table 11.2).

Woollen fabrics where the prices are noted reflect two trends: the purchase of cheap fabrics such as sempiternal, serge, calamanco and druggets, and the expensive and high-quality woollen cloth from Elbeuf and Abbeville that

Table 11.2 Purchase of linen French fabrics, by type and metres and social strata

Linen Fabric	Middle Upper Class	Lower Middle Class	Nobility
bretaña/Brittany	49		
crea		35	
cambray/Cambric	26.9		
estopilla/long lawn	48.72		
lienzo cambray/Cambric linen	60.48		
lienzo casero/home-made linen	26.04		
lienzo de Bretaña/brittany linen	16.1		
lienzo de Francia/French linen	61.6		
lienzo fino de Francia/French thin linen	23.1		
lienzo estopilla de cambray/ Cambric long lawn linen	8.4		
lienzo morlés/Linen Morlais	469.28		14.38
lienzo Trué/Troyes linen	307.44		
lienzo ruán/Rouen linen	101.64		1375.92
londrina encarnada de Francia/ Scarlet woolen cloth weaved in London	1.47		
terliz/drill or ticking	21		

Source: AGS, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 1862.

relied on merino wool (see Table 11.3). It is noteworthy that the top French superfine cloth from Louviers does not appear in the tax records. Colour was one of the most significant issues when classifying and choosing fabrics, and three stand out in the records: blue, black and scarlet. From the 1720s onwards, there were constant complaints from Castilian manufacturers regarding the Spanish inability to achieve the quality and vividness of foreign ones, especially in mixing and grana.[43] Gerónimo de Uztáriz wrote that 'the quality of fabrics will do little if it is not accompanied by the nuances and colorful' and gave the example of Lyon silk fabrics.[44] Both Lyon and Sedan provided fine cloth, especially in colours that the Spanish were unable to reproduce.[45] There was high demand for bright colours and fine fabrics among the middle and upper classes. The French textile industries of Bretagne, Picardie, Languedoc-Roussillon and Haute-Normandie found a good opportunity in the Castilian market.[46] The impression one gets is that very few Castilian woollen cloths reached the prices of Abbeville and that most of the woollen cloths introduced in Madrid, from Alcoy, Béjar and Segovia, were of average quality.

Higher prices for wool ranged from 75–90 reales for woollen grana cloth, the most valuable of all the fabrics, down to 48–50 reales for Elbeuf second. Among the costliest were cochineal, scarlet, France écarlate or blue or black Sedan, indicating that the colour of the cloth was an important element of value. This is also seen in cheaper fabrics such as rateen, where the price for scarlet ranged between 22–30 reales. Clothes with scarlet colour were associated with 'wealth and royalty'.[47] Imports of cochineal into Europe greatly encouraged the manufacture of bright scarlet and crimson fabrics. France imported part of its supply of cochineal from Saint Domingo and, from the seventeenth century, Spain imported from Mexico to Seville and Cadiz.[48] Improvements in dyeing were the hallmark of French fabrics, the attraction of which has several interpretations. As is apparent from Table 11.3, coloured fabrics were higher priced than plain fabrics of the same quality, giving them an added attraction to consumers of all social categories. On the other hand, the high price reinforced the exclusivity that converted them into luxury goods and markers of status. According to Savary, this regular demand favoured the abuses committed by some French traders, despite the strong regulations established by Colbert in the second half of the seventeenth century.[49] There were incidents of fabrics covered with trademarks of lead that were not standard-issue according to the regulations.

Table 11.3 Table of type and value of woollen French fabrics purchase in Madrid by social strata, 1741–1743, in reales and metres

Fabric	Value in reales		Metres by social class			
	Price min.	Price max.	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Nobility	Ambassador
Bay/bayeta/flanelle	18	18	6.72	2.52		
Calamanco/calamaco/calmande	7	10	49.56			
Drugget/droguete/droguet	7	10	43.68	32.97	12.6	
Flowery droguet/droguetillo/droguet fin	8	11	25.2			
Serge-like woollen stuff/estameña/ étamine/	5	11	73.08			
Red Serge-like woollen stuff/estameña encarnada/étamine écarlate/	8		5.04			
Cochineal/grana/écarlate	75	90	12.6		8.61	
Abbeville woollen cloth/paño de Abbeville/drap d'Abbeville	56	64	38.22		5.04	
Carcassonne woollen cloth/paño de Carcasona/drap de Carcassonne	40	50	5.04	6.93		
France woollen cloth/paño de Francia/ drap de France	40	45	29.19			
France blue woollen cloth/paño azul de Francia/drap bleu de France	50	50	10.08			
France woollen cloth fine-thin/paño fino de Francia/drap fin de France	48	60	25.62		6.72	
France woollen cloth poor-quality/paño ordinario de Francia/drap commun de France	22	25	5.88	5.46		

Sedan black woollen cloth/paño negro de Sedan/drap noir de Sedan	50	50			5.04	
Elbeuf woollen cloth/paño ElBeuf/drap d'Elbeuf	46	50	61.5972	12.39		
Elbeuf common woollen cloth/paño común ElBeuf/drap commun d'Elbeuf	40	50	26.46		23.1	
Elbeuf fine woollen cloth/paño ElBeuf fino/drap fin d'ElBeuf	55	64	34.86		5.04	5.04
Elbeuf second woollen cloth/paño ElBeuf segundo/drap second d'Elbeuf	48	50	7.14			
Red floss/pelusa encarnada de Francia/ peluse incarnate de France	20	20	4.2			
France principela/principela de Francia (used for cloak, cape and dresses)	8	9	26.04	14.28		
Red-scarlet wide Rateen/ratina ancha encarnada/ratine large incarnate	30	40	6.93			
Wide Rateen/ratina ancha/ratine large	40		1.26			
Tight Rateen/ratina angosta/ratine étroite	14	30	51.492	5.88		
Red-scarlet tight rateen/ratina angosta encarnada/ratine étroite encarnée	22	30	79.8	3.36	9.24	
Sateen-woollen printed or flowery cloth/saetin/	8	9	15.12	13.44	0	
Woollen serge/sarga/serge	4.5	8	61.32			
Light serge/sargueta/serge legère	5		11.76			
Sempiternal/sempiterna/sempiterne	8	9	2.52	22.68		

Source: AGS, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 1862.

In 1740, the supervisor general ordered manufacturers to refrain from sending defective fabrics to Spain, in an attempt to take advantage of the war and gain the confidence of Spanish traders in the face of English competition.[50]

To differentiate fashion, taste and luxury is a complex matter. It is well-known that France had no rival from the seventeenth century in terms of elegance and luxury, but it is hard to ascertain whether demand for French products in Madrid was due to the desire for luxury or a reflection of the taste for French style. It is clear, however, that there were significant differences in the quality of French woollens bought by different social groups. The nobility bought only 8 per cent of the French woollen cloth registered in our source, but nearly three-quarters of this comprised expensive fabrics (upwards of 40 reales per metre) and including the 'grana sencilla color escarlata' (at 90 reales) introduced by the Marquis of Escalona, and also cloth from Abbeville, Sedan and Elbeuf. It seems that the nobility selected only certain fabrics; not in vain, French dress was associated to sartorial refinement. The cheaper cloth bought by the nobility (especially drugget) was probably for servants' liveries or lining.[51] The upper middle class bought the bulk of French woollen fabrics, of which only one-third were fabrics costing around 40 reales per metre. Because this class formed the majority of our sample, they were also the ones bringing the greatest variety of fabrics into the city, from the cheapest to the most expensive. Expensive woollen cloth from Carcassonne and Elbeuf, and middle quality tight scarlet rateen can also be found, but never fabrics of 50 reales per metre and above (see Table 11.3). On the other hand, the middle lower class introduced 13 per cent of the cheapest drugget, sempiternal, sateen-woollen printed or French principela, which they used for cloaks, capes and dresses. Amongst these, colour remained important.

The war would have hindered or prevented the importation of cheap English fabrics and favoured French sempiternals and bays: fabrics that competed with British ones were now excluded because of embargos.[52] Sempiternals and baizes were medium-priced fabrics commonly used by various social groups; perpetuanas were a sturdy and tightly woven fabric, often worn by poor people, and bays were fabrics made with thin and loose wool favoured by the clergy and used for blankets among other uses. In fact, even before the war, France was concerned about British competition and tried to get around it by imitating English fabrics. In the correspondence between

the 'contrôleur general des finances' and inspector of manufactory of Beauvais in 1708, the former pointed to the rivalry between French and English sempiternals and bays.

French commodities in Madrid: household demand

In a city where keeping up appearances mattered, following fashion not only involved textiles for dress but also affected household demand. As Braudel himself asked 'after all, where is luxury more conspicuous than in the home, furniture and dress?'[53] Eating was more than food itself; how and where one ate were also important. The manner of dining with napkins, crockery or tablecloths was part of the material life and luxury. According to Benito J. de Feijóo, visiting and writing letters were two common practices of sociability.[54] Homes were a place for showing off just as much as traditional spaces of sociability – such as the court, balls, ceremonies and gardens – or new ones linked to cultural aspects of the city, such as theatres and the opera.

The bedroom was central in domestic life and in the use of all types of textiles, from covers to curtains, and linens and pillows from Morlaix, Rouen or Laval could be seen in Madrid.[55] Some French manufacturing centres specialized in export fabrics; Laval, for example, produced mainly low-quality woollens to make skirts for the poor and exported to the Indies or to Southern Spain and Madrid.[56] The demand for French ready-to-use products was based on shirts and handkerchiefs that were highly popular from the middle and upper social class who wanted to be bearers of French fashion.[57]

New refinement and social manners stimulated the renewal of household furniture and utensils and for napkins and particularly tablecloths (see Table 11.4). A new code and behaviour associated with cleanliness and elegance was settled even if some foods were still being eating with the hands. In Spain, the royal Maestranza of table linen in Coruña supplied the royal family and upper classes. This manufacturer had a great reputation both within and outside Spain. Despite this, 746 metres of French tablecloths and table napkins (8.5 per cent of the tablecloth entries) were brought into Madrid from Normandy and Picardie, especially by the upper middle class.

Table 11.4 Household demand of French fabrics, 1741–1743

Fabric	Unit
Pillow (Morlaix)	12
Sheet (Laval, Morlaix, Rouen, domestic)	28
Decorative cloth table (France)	4
Shirt (Brittany, Morlaix)	30
Handkerchief (Cambray)	7

Source: AGS, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 1862.

This hierarchy of consumption, especially with regard to the consumption of some household items such as tablecloths, suggests what Veblen called vicarious consumption. Nonetheless, it is necessary to emphasize the problem of transport costs versus product prices. Considering that most of the products consumed in Madrid were textiles, one of the explanatory elements is the weight:price ratio. An expensive fabric weighs more or less the same as a cheap one, so the transport cost will be roughly the same (except for the risk of theft and insurance) and will thus affect a cheap fabric more than an expensive one. In line with this fact, recent scholarship has noted changes in consumer habits in some Mediterranean regions, including Spain, arising from intense contact with French merchants acting as agents.[58]

French style had also involved the ascent of some professionals, such as hairdressers, 'couturières', interior decorators and chefs.[59] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the popularity of Spanish cuisine was superseded by French – as Braudel noted: 'fashion governs cooking like clothing'.[60] Spices that were basic to medieval cuisine were relegated to a minor role with respect to new ingredients such as wild mushrooms, capers or sugar, and diets thus began to be diversified and enriched. During the seventeenth century, sweet dishes began to be served at the end of the meal, thereby separating salty and sweet food and consolidating the long-established dessert with a new type of confectionery made with sugar.[61] The Comtesse of Aulnoy gave an account of the crystallized fruit (*glacé dans le sucre*), a fashion imported from Italy, which she ate at a meal served in the court.[62] In the *Tableau de Paris*, Mercier noted that the new rages of fashion led Elizabeth Farnese to accept a hairdresser and a cook from France.[63] More recently, Aileen Ribeiro has pointed out 'the devotion to French tastes in the fashionable world made French tailors, valets,

maids, dancing masters and cooks esteemed commodities',[64] and, in her chapter in this volume, Johanna Imakunnas notes that Swedish aristocrats frequently employed cooks trained in Paris. Similarly, from 1709 to 1745, two French cooks were in charge of the daily diet of the royal family in Madrid: Pedro Benoist and Pedro Chatelain.[65] According to our source, both brought into the city 120 kg of 'conserva de dulce' (preserved sweet). Other foreigner residents also demanded French sweets, including Monsieur Arsan, Monsieur Duboucher or Monsier Spinetti, as well as the Earl of Jeves and the Countess of Belalcanzar. So too did many of the Spanish nobility.

More generally, what can be seen through this source is that Madrid's citizens introduced an enormous quantity of sweet foodstuffs, especially around Christmas, with 45 per cent of imports of this nature coming into the city in November and especially December. In the case of French sweets, demand seems to be particularly concentrated: December registered 94.9 kg of sweets, 11.4 kg occurred in January, and April had 81.4 kg – most likely coinciding with Easter. Sweets also accompanied cups of hot chocolate in afternoon social gatherings. Colonial drinks were 'aspects of elite sociability' and ultimately the manifestation of the rivalry between nations.[66] Each empire had its networks, which consumption reflected. In Spain, unsurprisingly, chocolate was the leading stimulant in the eighteenth century and the inhabitants of Madrid took it thick and spiced with cinnamon.[67] This is one of the reasons why sugar was in great demand; it was used as a condiment in the kitchen, in confectionery and distilleries, but it was especially used to sweeten chocolate. Palacio Atard stated that in 1789, the consumption of chocolate and cacao per capita in the capital reached 3.4 kg per year.[68] The high degree of social contact between the Spanish peninsula and the Spanish colonies favoured the transmission of new products, and it is significant that only the upper middle class introduced sugar from France, mainly in October (1,637.4 kg), with only 3.5 kg of sugar in May and 71.7 kg in July. The only entry (79 kg) of French cocoa was accounted in the name of Don Antonio Spinetti, who also introduced 48.31 kg of sugar.

The assimilation of semi-luxury colonial products into daily life in Madrid followed a different rhythm from the exotic to the ordinary. Sugar and chocolate in the first half of the century were still closer to the upper middle upper class and the nobility than they were to common people. As part of a global process,

Spanish cooking integrated commodities as well as new household furniture that became more accessible in the long run. French cooking and cooks were part of this process.

Conclusions

What was happening in the 1740s in Spain regarding the consumption of luxury and semi-luxury goods? Determining living standards in the mid-eighteenth century helps in understanding the circulation of goods and the assimilation of new trends and fashions.[69] Demand depended on prices, but the ability to afford luxuries also played a role in discussions of consumption, especially in the case of expensive commodities. Nonetheless, we must not forget that the emulation effect could be as important as incomes in the case of certain desirable and *à la mode* goods. However, these changes were unique in each city and the wealthier classes were largely the forerunners when it came to the ability to access such products.

The constant circulation of goods and customs refashioned and altered the patterns of consumption among the population, particularly in urban areas and mainly in Madrid. What emerges from our research is that there were different grades of luxury that channelled identity. During the eighteenth century, Spanish society witnessed a refinement of manners from neighbouring France which especially affected the upper classes and the emerging bourgeoisie. French fashion helped to shape taste, a preference that seemed to trickle down from the court. It held particular significance because appearance and identity were very close. Emulating the upper classes was a way of attempting to move up the social ladder which is why a large proportion of Madrid society showed a preference for French commodities, especially fabrics. The heterogeneous upper middle class seemed to be especially influenced by French modes, by its coloured (blue and scarlet) high-priced fabrics, but also by food and household goods, such as table linen. Good taste was attached to French fashion, hence the purchase of high-priced and high-quality French fabrics, reputable by their colour and quality,[70] which reinforced the idea that these fabrics were regarded as luxury products which could underpin status and life style. The nobility focused their consumption of

French cloth onto the more expensive linen fabrics from Rouen and woollen cloths from Elbeuf, Sedan and Abbeville, including the most expensive woollen écarlate and the scarlet rateen. Their preferences seem to be well defined, especially by quality. In this sense taste, seen as refined preference, and luxury went hand in hand; but luxury was above all determined by price and was not therefore synonymous with taste.[71] Not everyone was able to afford the consumption of such commodities; much depended on the level of income of each family or social group. Moreover, the preference for colourful fabrics can be seen as a choice linked with the aesthetic and quality, but also with political connotations and power. This relationship between preferences, taste and politics has also been underscored by Aline Clemence in her study of Naples in this volume. Material culture is a dynamic process shaped by incomes, novelty, religion, political economy, imperialism, taste and, in the words of Braudel, also by social behaviour.

Notes

1 Rafael Dobado-González, Alfredo García-Hiernaux and David Guerrero-Burbano, 'West versus East: Early Globalization and the Great Divergence', *Cliometrica* 9 (2015), 235–64; Maxine Berg, 'In pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth-Century', *Past and Present* 182 (2004), 85–142.

2 Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *A History of Global Consumption: 1500–1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 3.

3 Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris* (1781), vol. 2, 302.

4 Joan DeJean, *The Essence of Style: How the French Invented High Fashion, Fine Food, Chic Cafes, Style, Sophistication, and Glamour* (New York: Free Press, 2005), 3.

5 Manuel Pérez-García, *'Vicarious Consumers': Trans-National Meetings between the West and East in the Mediterranean World (1730–1808)* (London: Ashgate, 2013).

6 Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss/10680 (241–5). Marie-Louise of Parme kept track of every French mode. Before that, Marie-Louise d'Orléans brought French fashion and taste to Madrid. Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset, 'Marie-Louise d'Orléans Queen of Spain,' in *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, eds J. L. Colomer and Amalia Descalzo Lorenzo (Madrid: CHEE, 2014), 267–92.

7 Pablo Vázquez Gestal, *Una Nueva Majestad: Felipe V, Isabel de Farnesio y la Identidad de la Monarquía (1700–1729)* (Madrid: Fundación de Municipios Pablo de Olavide-Marcial Pons, 2013), 325.

8 In total 322 titles were created during his reign. María del Mar Felices de la Fuente, *Condes, Marqueses y Duqueses: Biografías de Nobles Titulados durante el Reinado de Felipe V* (Aranjuez: Doce Calles, 2013), 12.

9 Gómez-Centurión, 'Etiqueta y Ceremonial Palatino durante el Reinado de Felipe', *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, 56 (1996), 965–1005.

10 Jesus Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 21.

11 The role of ambassadors should not be understated. Consumption by ambassadors is linked to luxury, fashion, art and parade. Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset, 'Princely Wardrobe and International Network: The Case Study of Bavaria in the 1680s', in *Royal Wardrobes: Visual Culture, Material Culture*, eds Isabelle Paresys and Natacha Coquery (Lille: CRHEN-O, 2011), 177–193; Henri Bedarida, *Parme et la France de 1748 à 1789* (Paris: Champion, 1928).

12 Richard Cantillón, *Essay on the Nature of Trade in General* (New York, 1734, reprint 2015), 43.

13 Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 59; Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset, 'Présents du Roi: An Archive at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris', *Decorative Arts* 1 (2007), 4–18.

14 Nadia Fernández-de-Pinedo, 'Tax Collection in Spain in the 18th Century: The Case of the "Décima"', in *Taxation and Debt in the Early Modern City*, eds Jose Ignacio Andrés and Michael Limberger (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010), 101–11.

15 *Copia de la instrucción dada, en consecuencia de lo que mandó S. M. por el Ilustrísimo Señor Don Joseph del Campillo, a todos los Superintendentes del Reyno, para la cobranza del Diez por Ciento*, BNE, Mss. 11.259 (39) Aranjuez, 31 May 1741.

16 For more details about the tax see Fernández-de-Pinedo, 'Tax Collection'.

17 In the case of barley, straw, wine, oil and soap, bacon/lard (pork), salted ham and chorizo, the source only collected the total amount introduced per day but does not specify who introduced it. These products are not included in the 450 products analysed.

18 There are 3,822 people but three records do not name the persons who introduced the merchandise because they were seized as contraband. *Ambassadors, Charitable Foundations, Church* and *Crown* represents the 1.4 per cent. The Crown and the Church were exempt from paying the tax; however, occasionally goods that were introduced by them were recorded although they did not pay the tax. *Upper Middle Class* includes the gentry. All the people noted in this category have the 'Don/Doña' distinction. Although uncertain, this denotes certain social and

economic criteria. Traders, merchant bourgeoisie, officials of the Administration, senior officials or property owners might belong to that category.

19 Pérez-García, *'Vicarious Consumers'*, 179–80.

20 Dobado-González, García-Hiernaux and Guerrero-Burbano, 'West versus Far East'.

21 See also Ilja Van Damme, 'Middlemen and the Creation of a "Fashion Revolution": The Experience of Antwerp in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times*, ed. Beverly Lemire (London: Ashgate, 2010), 21–40.

22 Nadia Fernández-de-Pinedo and Emiliano Fernández de Pinedo, 'Distribution of English Textiles in the Spanish Market at the Beginning of 18th Century', *Revista de Historia Económica – Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 31 (2013), 253–84.

23 Pérez-García, *'Vicarious Consumers'*.

24 Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5.

25 José Sempere y Guarinos, *Historia del Luxo y de las leyes suntuarias de España*, 2 (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1788), 142; see also Álvaro Molina and Jesusa Vega, *Vestir la identidad, construir la apariencia: La cuestión del traje en la España del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2004), 89–119.

26 Bruno Blondé and Jon Stobart, 'Introduction: Selling Textiles in the Eighteenth Century: Perspectives on Consumer and Retail Change', in *Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century: Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe*, eds Jon Stobart and Bruno Blondé (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 5.

27 Lesley E. Miller, 'Material Marketing: How Lyonnais Silk Manufacturers Sold Silks, 1660–1789', in *Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century: Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe*, eds Jon Stobart and Bruno Blondé (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 88.

28 Thépaut-Cabasset, 'Marie-Louise d'Orléans Queen of Spain'; Juana Natividad de Leon Salmeron Africa de Diego y González, *Compendio de indumentaria española* (Madrid: Imprenta de San Francisco de Sales 1915), 175.

29 The *golilla* was finally prohibited in 1701 after an attempt of Philip V to wear it. Alfred Morel-Fatio, 'La golille et l'habit militaire', *Bulletin Hispanique* 2 (1904), 114–42. The *golilla* stimulated the importation of bayette from England one of the reasons why M. Anisson advised the king of France to suggest Philip V to avoid the *golilla* in Spain and promoted French fashion. Arthur Michel de Boislisle, *Correspondance des contrôleurs généraux des finances avec les intendants des*

provinces, publiée par ordre du ministre des finances d'après les documents conservés aux Archives nationales, 2 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1699–1708), 483.

30 Sempere y Guarinos, *Historia del Luxo*, 146.

31 See Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville Aulnoy, *La cour et la ville de Madrid vers la fin du XVII^e siècle: Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne*, 2 (Paris: E. Plon, 1874), 474; Thépaut-Cabasset, 'Marie-Louise d'Orléans Queen of Spain.'

32 Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 6; see also Natacha Coquery, 'Luxury and Revolution: Selling High-Status Garments in Revolutionary France', in *Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century: Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe*, eds Jon Stobart and Bruno Blondé (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 181; Pérez-García, *'Vicarious Consumers'*, 75.

33 Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and court costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Jon Stobart, *Spend, Spend, Spend! A History of Shopping* (Stroud: History Press, 2008), 73.

34 Keeping in mind also that the military were trendy due to the wars in Italy and the War of Succession. See Molina and Vega, *Vestir la identidad, construir la apariencia*, 27.

35 Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset, *L'Esprit des modes au Grand Siècle* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2010).

36 Felipe V, *Pragmática sanción que su Magestad manda observar, sobre trages, y otras cosas*. Traditional society is going to react against foreign influence at the end of the century with the project of the establishment of a national dress and the stereotype of the *petrimetre* with negative connotations about everything related to foreign fashions. *Discurso sobre el lujo de las señoras, y proyecto de un traje nacional*; see also Johanna Ilmakunnas, 'La mode française en Finlande au XVIII^e siècle et au début du XIX^e siècle,' paper presented at the seminar 'Le tournant de 1914: Deux siècles d'interculturalité franco-finlandaise', Paris 12 November 2014, 6; Johanna Ilmakunnas, 'Careers at the Courts: Noblewomen in the Service of Swedish and Russian Royals, c. 1750–1850', *Women's History Magazine* 72 (2013), 4.

37 'It is made with 8 varas (jacket) but can be done with only 4' ['*hácense con 8 varas de tela (casacas) pudiéndose con 4 . . .*'] Sempere y Guarinos, *Historia del Luxo* (2), 146.

38 Amalia Descalzo, 'El Traje Francés en la Corte de Felipe V', *Anales del Museo Nacional de Antropología* 4 (1997), 205.

39 Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 'Introduction'.

40 Giorgio Riello, 'Fabricating the Domestic: The Material Culture of Textiles and the Social Life of the Home in Early Modern Europe', in *The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times*, ed. Beverly Lemire (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 64.

41 Jacques Savary Des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce,* (A–E), vol. 1, 922.

42 Riello, 'Fabricating the Domestic', 63.

43 Luis Fernández, *Tratado instructivo y práctico sobre el arte de la tintura* (Madrid: Imprenta de Blas Roman, 1778), 177.

44 Complaints were recurrent in the contemporary writings, see Gerónimo de Uztáriz, *Theorica y práctica de comercio y de marina en diferentes discursos* (Madrid: s.n. 1724), 339.

45 Bezon, *Dictionnaire général des tissus anciens et modernes* . . . .1:1:XX.

46 'Pour la confection des draps, les producteurs languedociens se procurent en Espagne les laines ordinaires et les primes de Ségovie destinées aux qualités supérieures; ils agissent directement ou par l'intermédiaire de marchands espagnols ou toulousains spécialisés dans ce commerce.' Gilbert Buti, 'Des goûts et des couleurs: Draps du Languedoc pour clientèle levantine au XVIII[e] siècle,' *Rives méditerranéennes* 29 (2008), 6.

47 Pérez-García, '*Vicarious Consumers*', 119.

48 Savary Des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce,* F–Z, 2, 857; Jacques Heers, 'La Búsqueda de Colorantes', *Historia Mexicana* 11 (1961–1962), 1–27; Marichal, 'Mexican Cochineal and European Demand for a Luxury Dye, 1550–1800', in *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492–1824: Circulation, Resistance and Diversity*, eds Bethany Aram and Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Sánchez Silva and Suárez Bosa, 'Evolution of Cochineal World Production and Marketing, XVIth-XIXth Centuries', *Revista de Indias* 66 (2006), 473–90.

49 Savary Des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce,* F–Z, 2, 924

50 Alain Becchia, *La draperie d'Elbeuf (des origines à 1870)* (Rouen: Publication Université de Rouen, 2000), 184.

51 Liveries were often made of coarser materials and bright colours. Sarah C. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 119.

52 Fernández-de-Pinedo and Fernández de Pinedo, 'Distribution of English Textiles'.

53 Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967), 192.

54 Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class*, 26.

55 Roche, *The Culture of Clothing;* Savary Des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce*, F–Z, 2: Laval.

56 Roche, *The Culture of Clothing;* Savary Des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce*, F–Z, 2: Laval.

57 We have included shirts and handkerchief from Fabrics as they were ready-to-use and could be consider for personal use.

58 Pérez-García, *'Vicarious Consumers'*, 196.

59 Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

60 Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life,* 126.

61 Brian William Cowan, 'New Worlds, New Tastes: Food Fashions after the Renaissance', in *Food: The History of Taste*, ed. Paul H. Freedman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 219.

62 Aulnoy, *La cour et la ville de Madrid* (1874), 1, 479.

63 Mercier, *Tableau de Paris* (1788), 9, 73

64 Aileen Ribeiro, 'Fashion in the Eighteenth Century: Some Anglo-French Comparisons', *Textile History* 22 (1991), 331; see also Rebecca Haidt, *Women, Work and Clothing in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2011).

65 Maria Angeles Pérez Samper, 'The Early Modern Food Revolution', in *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492–1824*, eds Bethany Aram and Bartolomé Yun Casalilla (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 193.

66 Frank Trentmann, 'Crossing Divides: Consumption and Globalization in History', *Journal of Consumer Culture* 9 (2009), 198.

67 See among others Coady and Wright, *Chocolate*; Coe, *America's First Cuisines*; Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*; Robertson, *Chocolate, Women and Empire*; Young, *The Chocolate Tree: A Natural History of Cacao, Revised and Expanded Edition*; Stobart, *Sugar and Spice*; McCabe, *A History of Global Consumption*; Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life*, 178.

68 Vicente Palacio Atard, *La alimentación de Madrid en el siglo XVIII y otros estudios madrileños* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998), 35.

69 Also, design starts to play an important role. See Giorgio Riello, Glenn Adamson and Sarah Teasley, *Global Design History* (Abington: Routledge, 2011).

70 For complaints see Gerónimo de Uztáriz, *Theorica y práctica de comercio y de marina en diferentes discursos*, 339, that pledged to favour dyers with exemptions in the Crown of Castile; see also Savary Des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce*, A–E, 1: 923.

71 About taste see John Styles and Amanda Vickery, 'Introduction', in *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830*, eds John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Riello prompts that 'for most people, the accumulation of textiles remained a function of their income'. Riello, 'Fabricating the Domestic', 51.